5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 formed as a result of the *loi cadre* reforms, are typical of the [645] Frenchmen who have identified themselves with the country of their sojourn. Indeed such was the devotion of Peytavin to his party's cause that he was retained as Minister of Finance even after independence and opted for Senegalese nationality, a step that Bonifay found himself unable to take. These were men of high education—Bonifay, a well known lawyer, and Peytavin a veterinary surgeon. There were many others like them, not only applying such principles in the political field, but in the administration and commerce, who helped to dispel from the African what would otherwise have been a dominant impression of an isolationist and sometimes racist French community.

[369] It would be foolish to paint too idealised a picture of [571] race relations in Dakar. Many Europeans, particularly the *petit blanc*, openly admit to holding the African in contempt. But these are usually Europeans of little economic or political consequence and since independence their opinions have obviously carried negligible weight with the Senegalese.

Furthermore most Europeans in Dakar and the other main towns of Senegal, whatever their prejudices, send their children to local schools, where perforce they mix on terms of equality with Africans. The same is true of [873] Dakar University which has a large number of French students, the majority of whom are girls whose parents are working in Dakar. Their brothers try if possible to go to French universities. Though friendships tend to be [572] within the same racial group, there is a considerable number of inter-racial friendships.

563 The main point of conflict would appear to the casual 369 visitor to be the economic domination of private enterprise 463 and the more important subaltern jobs by Europeans. 472 But before analysing any tensions that have arisen from this, it is essential to point to some special features of Senegalese society. In Senegal, by contrast with Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast, there is no entrepreneurial class of

17: Mercier--45 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/36 cont./
There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F). 369* 621 571 563

/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned. [857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities. [857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or [572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.--Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

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We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

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1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we [182]